

Thompson (Jones) Missionary

MEMOIRS

OF AN

ENGLISH MISSIONARY

TO THE

COAST OF GUINEA;

WHO WENT THITHER FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF

CONVERTING THE NEGROES

TO

CHRISTIANITY:

CONTAINING

SOME CURIOUS TRAITS OF THE SUPERSTITION, TEMPER, AND MANNERS OF THE BLACK NATIVES.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following is an Abridgement of a Narrative, which in the year 1758 was published by the Reverend Mr. *Thompson*, of his Mission to the Coast of *Guinea*. His proceedings in *North America*, and other uninteresting matters, are omitted. What has been retained, may probably afford some information relative to the inhabitants of that part of Africa, to which the public enquiry has of late been so forcibly attracted.

MEMOIRS, &c.

IN the year 1751, after having been five years employed in *East Jersey*, in America, as missionary from the Venerable Society *de propaganda fide*, I obtained their consent, for my making a trial with the natives of the *Guinea* coast, in *Africa*, in order to see what hopes there would be of introducing the Christian religion among them. On the 25th *November*, 1751, I embarked in a brigantine called the *Prince George*, commanded by *William Williams*, bound for *Guinea*. Captain *Williams* had a negro youth whom he had brought from *Africa*, for education, a grandson of *Peter*, King of *Cape Monte*; he had caused him to be baptised, and was now carrying him home.

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ON the 27th we put to sea, and after twenty-five days of turbulent weather, we made the isle of *Ferro*, one of the *Canaries*; in pursuing our voyage among these islands, it was observed one morning, that the ship's rigging had gathered a red sand; and as we were not in view of any land, it could only be conjectured, that the wind must have drifted it off from the Pike of *Teneriffe*.—

January 8, we came within the mouth of the river *Gambia*, and, the day following, got up to *James Fort*.—In the evening of the 26th we weighed, but did not get to sea till two days after. Our men began to fall sick, and, in the course of that week, half of them were so ill, that they could not stand to the ship's work.—On *February* 3d, we made the highlands of *Sierra Leone*, and the next day came to an anchor at the *Bananas*, which are beautiful little islands lying near the coast.

February 11, I quitted the *Prince George*, and removed into the *Westmoreland*, *Joseph Wilson* master. On the 25th, I went in a small vessel with one *Captain Crawford*, up a river, which brought us into a part of the
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country called the *Soufes*; we landed at the town of *Quire*, and the next day, having walked to another town named *Tuania*, I baptised three *Mulatto* children, at the request of the Traders. The *Soufes* are a mixt people, of *Pagans* and *Mandingos*, who are a *Mahometan* sect. At *Quire* I observed an old *Mandingo* teaching some children in the street, who had their lesson written in *Arabic*, on a board; and I was told he did this out of charity, and for *God's* sake, and not for fee or reward. I went from *Quire* up into the country, to a town called *Woncopo*, and in the way thither had a bridge to pass over which was made with bundles of sticks, laid upon cross stakes, very long and high, but so narrow, that I could only creep, in some parts of it, upon hands and knees. — The town is said to be three miles in circumference, but the houses are scattered. — It is the residence of a *mango* or King. The name of the monarch at that time was *Dandi*: he was reported to be rich in slaves, yet he commonly appeared in a very ordinary garb; and the account I received of his character was, that he was almost always drunk, and often laid out in the streets all night.

night. On the 12th of March we set sail from *Sierra Leone*, and after touching at different places, we came at length into the road at *Cape-coast castle*, the principal *English* settlement on the coast of *Guinea*. On the Sunday following my arrival, I preached in the chapel of the castle before the governor, *Thomas Melvil*, Esq; and officers, and *Cabosheer Cudjoe*, who was the chief of *Cape-coast town*. On the same day I baptized one *white* and one *mulatto* child; and, on the next Sunday two more *mulatto* children. The town of *Cape-coast*, which by the Blacks is called *Igwa*, contains a great number of inhabitants. *Cudjo*, whom I mentioned as chief of this place, is only so, as to his wealth and influence, for he had declined the kingship, and recommended his younger brother, *Coffi*, to the election of the people.

Cudjo, though far advanced in years, was a very stout man; and, having been conversant with the *English* tongue, not only spoke it well, but had a tolerable knowledge of many things relative to the government, and other affairs of *England*. His son *Frederick* was brought to *London* some years ago, with
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another young man, the son of *John Courantee*, the Cabosheer of *Anamaboe*; and both of them received their education under the Reverend Mr. *Territ*, of the *Temple*.— I preached to the Blacks, for the first time at Cudjo's house. I appointed to be there in the morning; but when I came, was disappointed of my audience. The matter was this; there had been a *pallaver*, i. e. a *cause* tried there; and the *Pinins*, or old men, who are the *judges* of the town, had, *according to custom*, drank so freely of strong liquors, that when the business was over, and the Court broke up, Cudjo sent them all home to sleep it off; and told them, they might come in the afternoon, and he would speak to me, to meet them.— I had then a large audience, who behaved very orderly.— I preached to them *on the nature and attributes of God, his providence, and of a future state*, by means of an interpreter I had taken care to provide; but, after coming to speak upon the *Christian Religion*, some of them made a motion to go away; but I desired their patience a little longer, and they were so civil as to sit till I had done.— Having well considered of the properest method I could

could take for the instruction of the Blacks, I judged it best, *not to insist much at first* upon points of *Christian doctrine*; but to strike at their false worship, and endeavour to convince them of their absurd notions, and expose the folly of their idolatrous and superstitious rites; that if possible, I might disengage their minds from these, for the reception of *Divine Truths*. But, as the *Cartesians* say of nature, that it abhors a *vacuum*, this certainly is true of the human mind. — There must be something thrown in, while there is something drawn out. The lie cannot be fully disproved, till the truth is told, — In this case, then, I was to present them with a general view of Christianity, but to labour chiefly for the confutation of their errors, and thence proceed to establish the other. The great idol of the *Cape-coast* Blacks is a *Rock*, behind the Castle. This rock they call *Taberah*. Whether the Christian observation of *Sunday* has determined the same day to the Blacks, I cannot say; but, on every Sunday they make an offering to *Taberah*: this offering is of *cankee*, which is their bread mixed with palm-oil. This is a stated custom, but it is also performed occasionally

casionally at other times; but in special cases, such as some great distress by sickness, want of rain, or apprehension of famine, they sacrifice a sheep or goat; and when the sea is tempestuous for several days together, so that they *catch no fish*, they consider this as a token of their idol's displeasure. The victim being killed, and cut in pieces, some part of it is thrown upon the rock, which is supposed to be eaten by *Taberah*; though the truth is, that it has been devoured by some great birds which hover about the place. As to the other parts of the flesh, the people dress them for their own eating, and sitting in a circle enjoy the feast. At a small distance from this is another rock, but not so large; this is called *Taberah n'eiyeer*, or *Taberah's wife*. But what honours, or whether any are paid to this lady, I am not informed. — The Blacks, when they are ridiculed for being so senseless as to worship a *stone*, pretend, that it is not the rock to which they make their offerings, but a *fetish* or being which inhabits there, and which some of them assert to have seen frequently. But, on the other hand, they constantly speak of the rock itself, by that name simply,
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never calling it *Taberah n'iffe*, or *N'ada'n*, to distinguish it as his house, so jesuitical is idolatry among *Pagans*, as well as *Christians*. As it was my intention to be as much at *Anamaboe* as at *Cape-coast*, the distance between them being only about four leagues, I sent to *John Courantee*, to acquaint him, that being appointed by an honourable Society in *England*, to come to those parts for the instruction of the natives in good principles of religion, I only waited an opportunity to offer myself for that service to the people of his town, and hoped that I might do this with his permission. *But this design did not meet with any encouragement.* Cudjo having observed to me, on the utility of a *School*, and that the people would be glad to have their children educated in some kind of learning, I told him, if it was a thing desired by the inhabitants, they should provide a *school-house*, and I would take the business upon myself till there should be a master, if the society should think proper to send one. The people then agreed to build a school house and were to set about it, as soon as they had made their *custom*; that

that is, a great ceremonial or annual jubilee, upon the first eating of new yams.

AFTER this parade was over, I expected that the *school house* would have been begun. But finding no preparation made toward it, I hired a room at my own charge, and several young blacks came to me. But children growing weary of what is no longer a novelty, and the parents neglecting to keep them to it, *my hopes were quickly at an end of doing any good in this way.* As I now proceeded in a weekly course of preaching, I wanted that my hearers should have asked me some questions; proposed their doubts and have raised objections; which would have shewn some desire and concern on their part, to be established in the truth. But I really was dissatisfied with their passive and easy behaviour, as *they never started any argument at all.* This seemed to indicate, that they were the more resolved against persuasion and conviction. But amidst the darkness of paganism which reigns in these parts, the natives have some notion of a *Deity*. I never spoke with one of them, who did not confess belief in a Supreme Being; yet, their idea of *God* does

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not rise above that of his being *a man*, or *like to a man*. Their name for *God* is, *Yan-cumpong*, and by the same name they call the Heavens, or the sky. The blacks speak much of the spirits which appear to them; but they have little or no apprehensions of a *future state*; and they think, that the soul after death keeps haunt about the body, and is latent in, or near its repository; and upon this notion, their custom must be founded, of setting pots and basons with other pieces of furniture and utensils, at the graves of their kindred, there to remain for the uses of the dead; these articles are never known to be stolen away, but when it happens that they are broken, or consumed by length of time, their living friends do not always remember to replace the deficiency with new ones.— What is said in some Books of Voyages, of the *Guinea* negroes sacrificing to the *Devil*, may have some truth in it; but I never could learn, by any clear information, that it is practised on the *Gold coast*. But the Blacks of *Cape-coast* are very opposite to any thing of this kind, for they seem rather to hold him at defiance: At a certain time of the year, which is in *October*, when he is
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imagined to get among them, they run with stones and fire-sticks, in a frantic manner, and continue shouting and throwing, till he is compleatly driven out, and the town delivered from him. The *Negro* stories of apparitions stand upon an equal credibility with others of the same kind. What I am going to mention I had from a worthy gentleman, who was told it by a Cabosheer of his town. The Cabosheer walking one day to a neighbouring *Kroom*, or town, along the sea-sands, saw a man before him coming forward in great haste, whom he was well acquainted with; and as he drew near, being still intent upon his speed, he called to him to stop a little; the other, making signs that he was in a hurry, ran past him, and continued his pace. — When the Cabosheer arrived at the town, and found a concourse of people in the market-place, he asked the reason of it, and was told, that such a man's head had just then been taken off. He said it could not be, for he had met him in the way and spoke to him. But the answer was made, that it was so, and if he questioned the truth of it, he might see the parts of him, and be convinced by his own eyes.

THE discouragement I met with from *Anamaboe*, did not hinder my coming there as a stranger. *William Ansab*, the son of *John Courantee*, desiring a visit from me, I went to see him. His father, then about 80 years of age, had been a noted warrior, and kept all those parts in subjection to him, by the terror of his sword. He maintained his authority, and was still formidable to his neighbours; though he had done with military affairs, and was better employed, in making peace among his own people, who were every day coming to him with their *pallavers*. His time for business was before nine in the morning, and the *pinins* and the *cabosheers* sat with him at his house to hear litigants, and determine their disputes, which were sometimes very long and clamorous, agitated with much gesticulation, and a great air of passion. When any thing more than ordinary was to be done, it was brought to an hearing by three or four o'clock in the morning. From nine in the morning till three in the afternoon, he sat in a bathing-tub, having a flask of rum standing by him, and smoking tobacco out of a long pipe, the head of which rested upon the ground.

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He admitted me to the honour of seeing him the same evening that I came there; and hearing me say, I had begun to teach a school at *Cape-coast*, the Cabosheer grew pleasant, repeated some letters of the alphabet, and told me, that he had been a *scholar* there. *Anamaboe*, as being the principal of three towns, which are situated near together, gives name to the other two, which are otherwise called the *fishing town*, and *Agar*. It is a place of the same consequence to our *Guinea* trade, that *Cormantee* formerly was, which is lower down, and belongs now to the *Dutch*.—After my return from thence, they that attended my lecture came again to hear me, as usual, every *Tuesday*, at their King's house; he having granted me the use of it before.—But, *my audience was small, and did not increase*. I purposed sometimes to try them with questions upon such points as I had handled before, in set discourses. But, either they were afraid to discover ignorance, or they did not care to confess what they knew,—and *I could get very little out of them*. Their *King* was not so reserved: he seemed to be well satisfied in the *Christian* religion, so I hoped he would have

have become a convert to it, and made a public renunciation of the *Pagan* errors. — As a great part of their superstition consists in the wearing *festishes*, or pieces of gold, single beads, little shells, and the teeth of some animal, which are purchased of their *conjurors* at an exorbitant rate, as good against poisons, witchcraft, and other direful accidents; this popular delusion was too much in the way for any true sense of religion to be implanted in them. The *pinins* were as much possessed with it as the common people. — The King told me, he had been engaged once in battle, when a friend of his was very courageous upon the strength of his *fetish*; by which he held himself to be proof against every kind of military weapon; and having been boasting of it, had scarce done speaking, before there went a musquet ball through him, in the very part of his breast, on which his potent *fetish* hung.

I HAD frequently spoken to one man about those small wares, and endeavoured to convince him they were of no efficacy. I did at last, with much ado, persuade him to part with

with those he had, and he delivered them into my hands, all—*except one*. I asked him what was the special virtue of *that*, above the rest? He said, he had lost *one* of his children, and if *he took off that fetish he should lose the other*. But it was little more than a year after, that this wretch *attempted to kill his own child*, upon some person's head, with whom he had a quarrel. This monstrous practice of *killing upon another's head*, as they term it, is to serve a revenge, when the malicious purpose cannot otherwise be obtained. The sacrifice is made of *any indifferent party*; and by this, the blood-shedder subjects his adversary to a prosecution, the same as if he himself had committed the fact. I think, I have heard of some, who have, from the same motive, *destroyed themselves*. The town of *Cape-coast* has a good number of *Mulattos*. As most of the adults among them had been baptised, some by chaplains of men of war, and others of them, by the chaplains of the garrison in former years, it was natural enough to think, that these would readily have accepted of a teacher, and been desirous to have the nature of their baptism expounded to them; especially as
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they have some notion of privilege accruing from it, and value themselves upon their Christian name, accounting it an honourable distinction. — *Instead of this they avoided me;* and I may truly say of them, that they are *more heathanish* than even the *Negroes*. But in order that they might have a more inviting opportunity for instruction, I proposed to attend them at a time and place by themselves; and for six *Sundays* together, they formed a small congregation, and I discoursed them at intervals, as occasion presented: I went likewise to several of their houses, and there talked to, and exhorted them. — But my endeavours with these *Mulattos* made good that passage in the parable of the *sower*; “ Some seeds fell upon stony places, where
 “ they had not much earth; and forthwith
 “ they sprang up, because they had no deep-
 “ nefs of earth; and when the sun was up,
 “ they were scorched, and *because they had*
 “ *not root they withered away.*” The *pinins* being one day with me at my chamber, as I was saying something upon a point of religion, I observed some of them to *laugh*; which behaviour of theirs, I told them, was not becoming, as I was speaking to them
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of a serious matter. For this they made apology, that it was *their way* of receiving any knowledge or information of what was good. The people in general indeed were so well behaved, that when the town swarmed with their frantic sports upon *making custom*, I could go peaceably through the crowd, and they did not molest me. But after I had left off preaching to them, though it was they themselves had broken it off by their non-attendance, I met with some *rubs*; which, though not of much account, and only from single persons, yet being not usual, and following soon after, I imputed to that cause; which, if it was the ground of a resentment, shewed only their perverseness, in taking offence at being denied the further opportunity of what they neglected, while they had it. The practice and custom of killing slaves, at the death of a Cabosheer, is less used than formerly. It was done once at Anamaboe, whilst I lived in those parts. A man and woman had their heads cut off, after dancing a prelude to their own tragedy. It is probable, another age will abolish this relic of barbarity. The governors and chiefs of forts interposing their authority

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might perhaps at once break it. I will here relate the manner of taking *fetish*, as I saw it while I was there. The *Cape-coast* Blacks are sworn by the *fetish*, with giving them water to drink out of a vessel made of copper, the ordinary use of which is in cleaning their gold-dust, and they call it a *blow-pan*. This water is rendered sacred and operative, by the Cabosheer's string of *Agrih* beads put into it, and the quantity is about a large tea-cup full. Before they drink it, they say to this effect:—May the *fetish* kill them by that draught, if they take it in a false matter; or, (if binding themselves to conditions) if they do not duly execute and perform the same. If one party refuse to take it, the cause is declared against him, and the other has *herou*, (*i. e.*) chalk put into his hand, in token of the verdict being given for him.—But when the opposite parties in a cause both drink, the *pallaver* is suspended for a time, to wait the operation of the *bead* water, or the confession of the guilty one; which confession has been known to be made, with great remorse and perturbation of mind, the person fancying that the *fetish* has seized him. But when the *pallaver* comes on again,

again, and both sides are peremptory, there is another kind of *fetish* to decide the matter, which is immediately done. They call this *adom*, and it is drinking water by large pots full, *till one party vomits*; and whichever *throws up* first, is adjudged to have the right of the cause. That which I saw at Anamaboe was attended with some odd solemnities: there were set three vessels covered over, containing some things of their superstition; one of them, which was like an hamper, appeared, through the sides of it, to be full of sheeps, or goats skulls. The parties stood near to drink the *fetish* water, a man and a woman—then there came one with a knife, and cut off, first a pairing of the nail, of one of the man's fingers, which he put under the covering of one of the vessels. Then he cut off one of his toe-nails: next he cropped off a lock of his hair; and lastly, he scraped his tongue, conveying what he took off separately under the cloth. When the woman had been ordered in the same manner, and they had thus devoted themselves, *toto corpore*, upon the truth of what they were going to depose, the man walked thrice round the *apparatus*, with a

wooden instrument which was put into his hand, and then gave it to the woman, who did the same, and they drank the water, (about a pint each) which finished the ceremony. From Anamaboe I proceeded to Tantumquerry, and preached two Sundays at the English fort; I also gave a discourse to the Blacks, but they did not receive it to my satisfaction. I was kindly entertained by Mr. *Brew*, then chief of the fort, but there was no prospect of doing any thing with the natives. Some leagues below this, there is a town called Winnaba, which has an English fort. At this town there lived an old *fetish* man. He was an oracle to all the people in those parts, and gave responses out of a kind of Temple, built up like an hay-stack, and covered with thatch from top to bottom, having no window, and only an obscure entrance into it. Upon being consulted on any occasion, he entered alone; the fabrick presently began to shake, to the great astonishment and terror of the by-standers; but, being extremely old, he cannot now exercise the prop so ably as in times past; and so his temple stands the firmer, if the profits do not come in quite so copiously.

copiously. I had gone down to Winneba only for a day or two, and being returned to Tantumquerry, it happened that a young child in the fort, about two months old, was taken sick; and there came a *fetish* woman to the mother, and told her, that for some reward she would cause the child to speak what was the matter with it?—The poor mother was glad, for the sake of her infant, and perhaps too for a little curiosity's sake, to embrace the offer. She therefore encouraged the woman, and informed her husband of the proposal, who, desirous of observing how the cheat was to be managed, consented readily; promised largely, and bid high. The she-conjuror then began to beat upon the floor with a bundle of green twigs, and, after a good while, there was a noise like that of little birds, which she made with her mouth, but without moving her lips.—This was to be supposed the child's voice, of which she gave the interpretation to its parents.—But as it was not entirely satisfactory to some persons present, she went on again with her rods for some minutes longer, and at last gave it over, not in the least abashed; but

but said, she could not make it do, "because there were *white men* in the room."

I HAD been strongly invited by my friend Mr. Young, the then commander of *Acrafort*, to go, and stay with him, that I might make a trial with the Blacks of his town, and see *how they were disposed to receive the Christian religion*. But, my endeavours having already met with so much defeat, I was too doubtful of the success, to embrace the proposal. The first *negro* I baptised upon *African* ground was a factor's servant, who, by having the advantage of understanding *English* very well, and a good capacity, made an *extraordinary progress* in the *Christian knowledge*; of which he gave proof before several gentlemen, at his baptism; in whose presence I examined him upon many points of doctrine, besides the several articles of the creed. But I cannot commend his after-behaviour. He was indeed the *best taught* of any of his colour that I ever had, and he made the *worst* use of his instruction. Some time after, I baptised *three* others, one of whom was my hired servant. These were *all* the adults that

that I christened in the year 1753, the *second* year of my being there. When the Blacks would not be held any longer to a meeting, I had no way left but to apply myself to individuals, and take them one by one. This mode of private teaching I insisted on, and followed with *more diligence* now than before; *I wish I could say with more effect!*—It did well in *some* instances, but failed in a *great many*. They had no principles to graft any thing upon. I could not find, by what handle I might take them. As to *their* sense of *vice*, and of *virtue*, they have only cold and unaffecting notions of both. And though no persons have more of the natural use of *hope* and *fear*, as to *sensible objects*, no great impression was made upon them by *spiritual matters*. The *Christian* religion, they call *white man's fashion*; and they say, "*white man knows best—but black man follow ~~white~~ ^{black} man's fashion*;" which was as much as to tell me, they would not be put out of *their* own way;—I had those, indeed, that I hoped would have come into *my* way, and did promise very fair for it; but they took a sudden turn, and were irrecoverably lost to the expectation I had conceived

ceived of them; which were two men of very *Christian-like* behaviour; and what had induced this change I cannot say.—My not being acquainted with the language, I had all along considered as a disadvantage, not to be compounded for, at any rate; for if I could have had an interpreter, though ever so well qualified, (*i. e.* as a common linguist) yet there would have been this failure, that it were impossible he should know how to express the doctrine and articles of the Christian religion by suitable words, or, for want of these, by phrases or equivalent paraphrases; in the use of which one could not be competently grounded without first professing some skill in the tongue, so that I was not to neglect such means and opportunity as I could have to learn it.—The language of the *coast* is very various, *each* nation having that which is peculiarly its own, though some of them are scarcely wider in their bounds than one of our largest parishes, only they are thicker peopled. The *Fantee* is the most extensive of any of the maritime tongues; it is the sole dialect of the *Cape-coast* Blacks, although they are independent of the government of *Fantyn*; and

and it is occasionally spoken as far as betwixt *Cape Apollonia*, to the river *Volta*; that is, about three hundred miles. My method in learning what I know of the *Fantee*, was by taking pen and paper to it; first asking the names of things, and then entering them down in writing; which, for the greater certainty and exactness, I demanded at different times, and of several persons. But such *teachers* are the Blacks, that notwithstanding all this care on my part, I found, sometime after, upon revival of my papers, that I had collected only an heap of *falsities*; for, instead of giving a word by itself, they would either join with it a pronoun, or an epithet, or else a particle, or give the plural number for the singular; and sometimes join a substantive and verb together, instead of speaking the one singly by itself. — There is that impetuosity in their temper, that makes them speak their words very quick; besides, they utter themselves in a kind of melted voice, which makes their pronunciation more indistinct; and what renders it yet more puzzling, they will speak the *same* word different ways: as for example—to signify a *tree*, they say *idweah*, and *eduah*, and *ed-*

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weah.

weah.—The fact is, they know they should speak something like it; but having no standard for the propriety of their language, the same person shall pronounce the word with these several variations.—This is a specimen of the misery of learning languages, without either the help of books, or the instruction of a proper master.

IN the year 1755, I brought to *Christianity two Blacks*; and the next, (which was the last of my abode in those parts) *baptised* two more persons, *one* of which was a *Black*, and the other a *Mulatto*.—The *Gosport* man of war being on the coast in 1755, Captain *Edwards*, as the climate did not agree with my health, generously offered me a passage to *England*. The *Harmattan* winds setting in as usual in the month of *December*, which are *easterly* winds, which blow for the space of five or six weeks together, and render this season of the year very unwholesome, a malignant fever began among the soldiers, which caused a great mortality. Scarce any who were seized with it recovered. These breezes are attended with very thick fogs; and besides their effect upon human bodies,

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in chilling and obstructing perspiration, are so dry and parching, as to warp any thing of wood, so that the ship-decks start their planks, though watered every day.—The sickness at this Castle was preceeded by one of the like pestilential-kind, at the *Dutch* castle of *Elmina*, three leagues westward; of which the general, Mr. *Degater*, and his lady, whom he had brought with him from *Holland*, both died, and a great number of persons, both in the garrison and in the town. The rage of the distemper was over there, when we were visited; but we lost about twenty persons in the castle, in less than six weeks, including the governor, Mr. *Melvil*, and his successor. On the 17th of February, 1756, I set out in my voyage, bound to the *West-Indies*. We came, on the 5th of April, to *Antigua*, proceeded from thence to *St. Christopher*, and on the 13th of June I arrived in *London*, in health and safety;—blessed be the good Providence of *Almighty God*!

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